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لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا مُحَمَّدٌ وَسَلَّمَ

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EDITED BY

SUFI M. R. BENGALEE

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The Ahmadiyya Movement

The Ahmadiyya Movement was founded by Hazrat Ahmad, the Promised Messiah and Mahdi and the expected Messenger of all nations. In the spirit and power of all the earlier prophets, he came to serve and re-interpret the final and eternal teaching laid down by God in the Holy Quran. The Movement therefore represents the *True and Real Islam* and seeks to uplift humanity and to establish peace throughout the world. Hazrat Ahmad died in 1908, and the present Head of the Movement is his second successor, Hazrat Mirza Bashirud-Din Mahmud Ahmad under whose directions the Movement has established Missions in many parts of the world, the following being the addresses of some of them:

THE LONDON MOSQUE,

63 Melrose Road,
Southfields,
London, S. W. 18,
England.

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT IN ISLAM

Sufi M. R. Bengalee, M. A.,
220 So. State St.,
Chicago 4, Illinois,
U. S. America

THE NIGERIAN BRANCH OF THE SADAR ANJUMAN AHMADIYYAH

P. O. Box 418,
Lagos (S. Nigeria)
B. W. Africa.

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT

Gold Coast, West Africa,
P. O. Box 39,
Salt Pond.

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,

P. O. Box 11,
Bo, Sierra Leone,
West Africa.

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT,

P. O. Box 554, Nairobi,
Kenya Colony,
(B. E. Africa).

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT

Mount Karmal,
Haifa (Palestine).

M. RAMZAN ALI, H. A.

Corrales 2668
Buenos Aires,
Argentine.

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT

Rose Hill, Mauritius.

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT

Box No. 305, G. P. O.
Perth, W. Australia.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 مُحَمَّدٌ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ النَّبِيُّ

THE

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The Front View

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إِذَا الَّذِينَ عَنِ الدِّينِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ

A Passage From The Holy Quran

Transliteration

Yaa Ayyuhalladheena aamanoo hal adullu-kum alaa tijaaratin tunjee-kum min azaabin aleem.

Tuminoona billaahi wa tujaahidoona fee sabeelillaahi bi Amwaali Kum wa anfusikum Dhalikum Khairullakum In kuntum Ta'lamoona.

Yaghfir lakum dhunubakum wa yudkhilkum jannaatin tajree min tahtilhal anhaaru wa masakina tayyibatan fee jannaati admin: Dhalikal fawzul a-azeem.

Wa ukhraa tuhibboonaha; Nasrum-minallaahi wa fathun quareeb, wa bashshiril mumineen.

Yaa ayyuhalladheena Aamanoo Koonoo Ansarallah, kamaa quaala Eesabno maryima lil Hawariyyeena Man Ansaaree ila-llah. Qualal Hawariyyuna Nahnu Ansaarullaah. Fa Aamanat Taaifatum-min Banee Israeela wa kafarat taaifah. Fa Ayyadna-lladheena aamanoo ala aduwwihim fa Asbahoo zaahireen. (LXI—10-14)

Translation

O Ye who believe! Shall I show you a commerce that will save you from a painful chastisement?

Ye shall believe in Allah and His Messenger and shall strive in the path of Allah with your wealth and your lives. That is better for you if ye did but know.

He will forgive your sins and cause you to enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, and pleasant dwellings in gardens of perpetuity. That is great success.

And another blessing which ye love: help from Allah and a speedy victory. Give glad tidings (O Muhammad) to believers.

And ye who believe! Be helpers in the cause of Allah even as Jesus, son of Mary, said to the disciples, who are my helpers in the cause of Allah. They said, We are helpers in the cause of Allah. And a party of the children of Israel believed while another party disbelieved. Then we aided those who believed against their enemy and they became victorious. (LXI—10-14)

من احاديث الرسول

The Sayings of the Master Prophet Muhammad

Jabir relates that the Holy Prophet said: "The five daily prayers are like a fresh river which runs by the door of one's house. He who washes himself in it five times a day will keep perfectly clean." (Muslim)

Abu Saeed Khudree relates that the Holy Prophet said: "When you see a man is accustomed to visit the Mosque regularly, bear witness that he is a true believer because God says, 'Verily, those who believe in Allah and in the Last Day inhabit the Mosques of Allah'." (Tirmidhi)

Abu Hurairah reports that the Holy Prophet said: "On the day of resurrection, God will say: "Where are the people who love one another for the sake of My Glory? Today I shall keep them under My shadow when there is no shadow beside Mine'." (Muslim)

It is related that when Utba, son of Ghazwan, was the governor of Basrah, he said in the course of a sermon: "I remember the days when there were only seven Moslems in Mecca along with the Holy Prophet and I was the seventh one among them. We could not have any other thing for food except the leaves of the trees. On account of eating the leaves, our intestines became wounded. In those days I received as a gift a sheet of cloth which I divided into two parts, one of which I used myself and gave the other to Sa'ad, son of Malik to wear. Today every one of us is a governor of some province. I seek refuge with God from the slightest thought of self-importance." (Muslim)

Khubbab relates that during the days when the Holy Prophet was in Mecca, the idolaters severely persecuted the Moslems. Unable to endure the oppression, once they came to the Holy Prophet and implored him to pray to God to have mercy upon them.

The Holy Prophet at that time was reclining on a cloth in the shadows of the Ka'aba, and seeing the anxiety and consternation and distress around him, he said: "Virtuous people before you were buried waist deep in the ground by the persecutors and their heads were then sawn into pieces; but these people did not swerve from truth. And by Allah, Islam will spread in Arabia and all obstacles shall be removed in such a way that a single man, weaponless, shall be able to travel from Sana'a to Hadarmout without fear, except the fear of God. But you are in a hurry." (Bukhari)

Excerpts From the Writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad The Promised Messiah and Mahdi 1836-1908

The Sources Of Divine Knowledge

The Holy Quran has described three degrees of Divine knowledge: (I) Ilmul-Yaqueen, (II) Ainul-Yaqueen and (III) Haqqul-Yaqueen. Of these Ilmul Yaqueen is the knowledge of a thing acquired inferentially as we conclude the existence of fire from the presence of smoke in a place without witnessing the fire itself. But if we see the fire itself, our knowledge of existence of the fire is the certainty of the second degree, viz., Ainul-Yaqueen. Our knowledge of a thing which we witness with the eye may, however, be further improved upon by bringing it home to our experience; for instance by thrusting our hand into the fire in the above case. Then we reach the highest stage of certainty which, in the language of the Holy Quran, is Haqqul-Yaqueen—Certainty of conviction.

The sources which give rise to a knowledge of certainty are reason and information. With reference to those whose abode shall be hell the Holy Quran says: "And they shall say: Had we but listened to the discourses of the wise or been ourselves wise and tested religion and belief by reason we should not have been among the dwellers of hell" (LXVII:10). The same purport is elsewhere expressed in the Holy Quran in the words: "God does not compel any soul to accept that which is beyond its capacity" (II:286). In this verse Almighty God gives us clearly to understand that the doctrines and beliefs to which He invites people through His Messengers are only such as are within the capacity of human understanding and knowledge and He does not force them to bear any burden which is beyond their strength. The verses quoted above also point to the fact that a person can acquire the knowledge of certainty through accurate information. For instance, we have not seen London but still we are certain of the existence of a town of this name because we cannot disbelieve all those who have

seen it. Or, although we did not live in the time of Aurangazeb nor did we ever see him, still it is beyond the shadow of a doubt that Aurangazeb was one of the Mogul Emperors who reigned in India. Thus we can arrive at a certain conclusion as to the reality of a fact or the existence of a thing through hearing when the chain of testimony is unbroken. The inspiration of the prophets is a source of knowledge provided that there has been no interruption in its transmission and the vehicle which conveys it to us is not of an imperfect nature. But if there are fifty or seventy different accounts of a single narrative contradicting each other and the documents containing them all pretend to be based on revelation, the mere acceptance by any sect of some of these documents as of a heavenly origin and the condemnation of the rest as spurious and fabricated if not based on a critical enquiry does not lead to a certain knowledge of the truth of the facts therein related. A series of such narratives inconsistent with each other is utterly incredible and we need no other proof for their condemnation. Nor can they, when wanting in consistency, the great test of the truth of a fact, be the source of knowledge because they cannot give rise to any certain conclusion, being themselves doubtful.

In connection with these remarks it should be borne in mind that the truth of the Holy Quran does not depend merely on its uninterrupted transmission and authenticity for it proceeds on the argumentative line. It does not compel us to accept its doctrines, principles and commandments simply on the authority of revelation but appeals to reason in man and gives arguments for what it inculcates. It is to this fact that the Holy Quran alludes when it says that the principles which it inculcates are impressed in the nature of man as we have in the verse: i.e., this blessed book does not preach strange and novel doctrines but it is a remembrance of that which is impressed in the nature of man and the laws of nature (XXI:51). It also says: "In this faith, i.e., the faith of Islam, there is no compulsion" (II:257), i.e., it does not compel a man to accept its doctrines but offers reason for their acceptance. Besides, the Holy Quran has the spiritual property of giving light to the heart as it says: i.e., "the Holy Quran is a cure for all spiritual ailments" (X:58). The Holy Quran is, therefore, not a book which derives all its force from being an ancient document which has

been handed down to us through a safe course of transmission but its real force lies in the sound arguments which it produces and the clear light which it sheds.

In like manner, intellectual arguments which have a sound basis lead a man to a knowledge of certainty. To this the Holy Quran alludes in the following verses: "When men of wisdom and understanding reflect upon the creation of the earth and the heavenly bodies and look deeply into the causes which bring about variation in day and night, they find therein clear arguments of the existence of God. For a clearer understanding and knowledge they seek the assistance of God and remember Him in all posture whether standing, sitting or reclining. This brightens their understandings the more so that when they muse on the consummate creation of the heavens and the earth they arrive at the certain conclusion that the perfect order and all-wise plan discernible in all these glorious orbs is not in vain but reveals the bright face of its Creator. Thus, being brought to a knowledge of the Creator, they sing hymns of praise to Him saying: "O our Lord! Glory be to Thee, and far be it from Thee that any one should deny Thy existence or impute to Thee unworthy attributes. Save us Thou from hell-fire for Thy denial is a hell and true happiness and felicity lies only in Thee and Thy knowledge. The person who has failed to recognise Thee is truly in hell-fire in this very world" (III:187, 188).

Conscience, which in the Holy Word of God is called human nature, is also a source of knowledge. Almighty God says in the Holy Quran: "The Divine impression on the nature of men with which all men have been created" (XXX:29). This impression in the nature of man makes him regard Almighty God as one without any partner, the Creator of every thing, and free from subjection to death and birth. Although the knowledge derived from human nature does not appear to be inferential, yet we have called human nature a source of knowledge because it leads to a conclusion by a very fine thread of inference. Almighty God has charged every thing with a peculiar property which it is difficult to describe in definite words, but when we imagine it and reflect over it, the inherent property at once strikes the mind. If, for instance, we imagine the person of the Divine Being and ponder over the attributes we desire to place in Him and consider whether He should

undergo the process of birth and death and suffering like ourselves, the idea makes us shudder. Human nature revolts at it and recoils from it being unable to bear it. The idea is repellent. The still small voice within us at once speaks out that the God in Whose powers we must completely trust must be a perfect and Almighty Being free from every blemish and defect. The idea of God and of the Unity of God co-exist in human nature and the one is not separable from the other. It is for this reason that I have described conscience, or more properly human nature, as a source of knowledge.

But we can attain to a higher degree of certainty than that which has been described above through a direct knowledge of a thing as, for instance, in the material world we obtain the knowledge of a scent through the sense of smell, that of sapidity through the muscles of taste and that of tangibility through the organs of touch. All these experiences fall under the heading of Ainul-Yaqueen.

But with respect to the life to come our knowledge attains this degree when we are directly inspired by God, hear His sweet voice and see His glorious revelations. Undoubtedly we cannot attain to a perfect knowledge of God except through inspiration. Moreover we feel this desire, this thirst for inspiration in our hearts which is inexplicable unless we admit that Almighty God has beforehand provided the means of its satisfaction. Can we, in the present life which is the only gauge of the next and a nursery of it, remain contented with a blind faith based on tales and legends regarding the existence of the true, perfect, all-powerful and living God, or be satisfied with the insufficient research of reason which has hitherto given to the world only an imperfect and deficient knowledge of the Divine Being? Do not the lovers of God desire it, heart and soul, that they should enjoy the bliss of speaking to their Beloved One? Can they who have lost everything for the sake of God and forsaken all their worldly interest, nay given their heart and soul for the sake of their Divine Master, be content to stand in a dim light never to see the brilliant face of that shining Sun of righteousness? It is not true that the sweet words "I am" of the living God give a better knowledge of His existence than all the reasoning of the philosophers; so much so that all their colossal literature proving the existance of God by the insufficient light of reason is nothing com-

pared with these words? What light can be expected from the person who himself never comes out of darkness?

In short, if Almighty God has willed to give a perfect knowledge of His Ownself to the seekers after truth, He has not shut the doors through which they may be illumined by His word and revelation. In this connection the Holy Quran teaches the following prayer to the seekers after truth: "O Lord, guide us in the path of perseverance, the path of those who have drawn Thy favors and blessings". The blessings here referred to signify the heavenly blessings which a man receives directly from God such as inspiration, revelation, etc. Almighty God says in another place in the Holy Qur'an: "Those who believe in the true God and then remain faithful and constant, the angels of God descend upon them and say: 'Fear ye not, neither be ye grieved but rejoice' that for you is the paradise which had been promised to you" (XLI: 30). This verse plainly indicates that the righteous servants of God are inspired by God in fear and grief and angels are sent down for their consolation. So, in another verse Almighty God says: "Good things are granted to the lovers of God through His Word and inspiration in this life as well as in the next" (X: 65).

Welcome To Maulvi Khalil Ahmad Nasir

We are exceedingly happy to extend our hearty welcome to Maulvi Khalil Ahmad Nasir, B.A. who has recently arrived from India and has taken up advanced studies in the Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. He has devoted all his spare time in assisting us in the work of our Movement. It is our earnest prayers that Allah may bless him abundantly and grant him brilliant success in all his undertakings. Amen.

The Life and Work of the Head of the Ahmadiyyah Movement

By Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan

(Continued from Fourth Quarter 1945 Issue.)

A detailed explanation of the present organization and activities of the Community which constitute the visible results of the work of the second Khalifa would require many times the space that is available for this brief survey. It is possible to mention only some of them in briefest outline.

The central organization of the Community is represented by the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyyah as reconstructed by the present Khalifa some ten years after his accession to that office. It is now composed of a Nazir-i-A'la (Chief Secretary), who acts as President, and several other Nazirs (Secretaries) who are in charge of various departments. The principal Nazirs are (1) Nazir Baitul Mal (Secretary of the treasury), (2) Nazir Umoor-i-Amma (Secretary dealing with miscellaneous matters or general affairs relating to the organization and discipline of the Community), (3) Nazir Umoor-i-Kharijah (Secretary dealing with matters relating to other communities and the Government), (4) Nazir Talim-o-Tarbiyat (Secretary in charge of education and training), (5) Nazir Dawat-o-Tabligh (Secretary for missionary work), (6) Nazir Talif-o-Ishaat (Secretary for compilations and publications), (7) Nazir Dhiyat (Secretary for hospitality). The finances of the Community are managed and administered by the Nazir Baitul Mal, who has attached to his department regular accounting and audit sections. A budget is prepared every year by the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyyah containing estimates of receipts and expenditure for the ensuing financial year and is submitted by the Nazir Baitul Mal to the Majlis-i-Mushawarat (Khalifa's Advisory Council) before the end of the current financial year. It is scrutinized by the Finance Sub-Committee of the Majlis-i-Mushawarat and is then recommended for sanction by the Majlis to the Khalifa with such modifications as the Majlis might wish.

to make. The Khalifa then directs the Economy Committee to further scrutinize the proposals for expenditure and finally sanctions the budget himself. Sanction for any extraordinary expenditure which has to be incurred during the financial year and for excess grants must be obtained as occasion arises from the Khaifa, but such extra or excess expenditure must, under the directions of the Khalifa, be reported to the Majlis in its next session. The budget provides a modest allowance for the Khalifa himself, but the present Khalifa has intimated that he will not draw the allowance. He not only maintains himself out of his private income, but makes large contributions out of it to the funds of the Community. In fact he is the biggest single contributor to these funds.

There are other departments and activities of the Community which are not covered by this organization but considerations of space forbid mention of all of them here. Some of them will come in for incidental notice later on.

Control over the members of the Community outside Qadian is exercised through Amirs appointed by the Khalifa and through branch Anjumans affiliated to the Sadr Anjuman. Wherever there are a few Ahmadis they are required to set up an Anjuman and the usual office holders are appointed. Every Amir endeavours to organize the local members and to regulate the affairs of the Community along the same lines as are followed at the Centre as far as it may be practicable having regard to the number of members and other local circumstances. Every member is required to contribute a minimum of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of his income to the funds of the Central Anjuman and quite an appreciable number contribute a minimum of 10 per cent. Apart from this compulsory contribution, there are several other contributions which members are expected to make so that on the average an active and earnest member of the Community contributes from 10 per cent. to 33 per cent. of his income to sustain the various activities of the Community.

The Majlis-i-Mushawarat was instituted by the present Khalifa in 1922. The Majlis is composed of elected and nominated delegates of the Community. The total number of its members is not yet finally fixed, but is at present between 500 and 600. Roughly 75 per cent. of the members are elected by affiliated branches of the Sadr Anjuman Ah-

madiyyah all over the country. The remaining members are nominated by the Khalifa himself to provide representation for such sections of the Community as may not otherwise be adequately represented, or are invited to attend as individuals whose advice the Khalifa is desirous of obtaining. The Majlis is summoned to meet normally once a year, but as the number of matters on which it is called upon to tender advice is increasing it may have to be summoned oftener. Affiliated associations outside India at present find no direct representation on the Majlis, but with the rapid improvement in means of communication that is expected after the war, it may become possible to accord representation to these associations also.

The Majlis tenders advice to the Khalifa on such matters as it may be invited to advise on at the instance of the various departments or by the Khalifa himself. It also considers the annual budget. The agenda is printed and circulated to the branch Anjumans well ahead of the commencement of the session, so that delegates attend the session after ascertaining the views of and obtaining instructions from their respective Anjumans. The proceedings at each sitting of the session are opened after silent prayers for divine guidance by the Khalifa in which all assembled delegates and visitors join. After the Khalifa's inaugural address, Committees are set up to consider and report on each group of items in the agenda. When these reports are submitted the full Majlis meets to consider them. Each recommendation in a Committee's report is discussed and is voted on. The Khalifa takes note of the volume of opinion in support of and in opposition to each proposal and in most cases announces his decision immediately. Normally he accepts the unanimous advice or the advice of the majority of the Majlis, as the case may be, but is not bound to do so. He often accepts such advice though he may himself think differently. When that happens or when his decision differs from the advice tendered he explains his reasons for the course adopted by him, but his decision is final and is always cheerfully accepted and loyally and scrupulously carried out.

The Qadha or the Islamic Judicial system was instituted by the present Khalifa in 1925. Under this system original jurisdiction is exercised by individual Qadhis (Judges or Magistrates). There is an

appeal to a Board of Qadhis and a second appeal from the board to the Khalifa. If the Khalifa himself should happen to be a party to or interested in the result of a case, the decision of the Board of Appeal is final. The Qadha deals with only civil disputes or such matters of a disciplinary nature as are not required by the laws of the country to be dealt with by the ordinary courts. No member of the Community may commence or prosecute a proceeding of a civil nature against another member save in the Qadha. If for some reason it is found necessary to have recourse to the ordinary civil courts, this may only be done with permission obtained from the appropriate department of the Community. One special feature of the judicial system established in the Community is that while the Judges occupy themselves with the decision of cases, machinery for execution of decrees is not attached to the Qadha, but is a part of the department of the Nazir Umoor-i-Amma. The whole system, of course, works on a voluntary basis and the only ultimate sanction behind its successful and efficient working is the moral and spiritual value that every member attaches to his membership of the Community. Apart from the moral and spiritual gain, the actual working of the department saves the Community the heavy expenses of litigation which are so sad a feature of the administration of justice in the ordinary courts. No court fees are levied by the Qadha. The rules of procedure and evidence followed are simple and free from many of the technicalities that often operate to defeat justice under more formal systems. They are designed to ascertain the truth rather than to satisfy the academic notions of lawyers.

For purposes of training and to stimulate its activities the Community is organized into sectional associations. There is, for instance, the women's association called the Lajna-Ima-Ullah, with branches in several of the bigger towns. The Women's Association at Qadian has succeeded in achieving complete literacy among the female section of the Community at Qadian, and this represents only a part of its activities. The proportion of women at Qadian who have completed courses of higher education to their total number is probably higher than at any other place in India, and this has been achieved while observing strict conformity to the teachings of Islam concerning purdah, etc.

The male members of the Community are divided into three sections. Children between the ages of 8 and 15 are organized into an association called the Atfal-ul-Ahmadiyyah. The object of the association is to impregnate its members with the ideals of the Movement and to train them in habits of conduct in consonance therewith. Those between 15 and 40 are members of the Khuddam-ul-Ahmadiyyah. This is the most active of the three men's associations. Its members are expected to illustrate in their own lives the ideals of the Movement in every respect. Great stress is laid upon complete integrity of thought and conduct, and strict discipline is sought to be maintained. Members are taught that complete fulfilment can be achieved only through service and sacrifice. The dignity of manual labour is inculcated by requiring the periodic participation of every member in labour of that kind. Members are also trained in physical endurance and in cheerful acceptance of privations.

Those above 40 years of age are organized in an association called the Ansaar-Ullah. Their activities are more of an intellectual than of a physical character, though the last are not excluded.

On the purely academic side, the Community maintains High Schools for boys and girls and Post Matriculation classes are arranged for girls. It is now possible to provide all the teaching in the Girls' School through properly trained women teachers. There are also a Theological School and a Theological College for boys.

This year an Intermediate College for Boys has been started which is expected to develop into a Degree College in due course. The foundation has also been laid of a Science Research Institute which is expected to develop its activities in various directions as opportunities for training of research workers and facilities of a technical character become available.

The main activity of the Community, however, is the propagation of Ahmadiyyat in India and in foreign countries. Ahmadiyyat is in every respect Islam itself. A distinct name was given to the Community by its Founder solely with the object of distinguishing it from the mass of those who though still calling themselves Muslims have in fact travelled away from the true doctrines and teachings of Islam. The missionary activities of the Community are carried on in many

ways, and indeed every Ahmadi is expected to be a missionary at least by example, if not by precept. Organized missionary effort is carried on by means of missions which are in charge of trained Muballighs. There has been a tremendous expansion in the activities of the Community in this respect during the time of the present Khalifa. Indeed, so far as missionary activity in foreign lands is concerned, it may be stated that with the exception of Afghanistan the whole network of foreign missions has been established under the direction of the present Khalifa. There are now large and flourishing Ahmadiyyah communities in the Dutch East Indies, the Malay States, Burma, Ceylon, Mauritius and the British Colonies of West Africa. In the Gold Coast alone there are 12 Ahmadiyyah schools and 88 mosques. While Sierra Leone alone has 3 schools and 12 mosques. There are large communities all over Nigeria, and to me was accorded the honour and privilege of laying the foundation stone of the Central Ahmadiyyah Mosque in Lagos in March of last year. In spite of the serious handicaps imposed by the war, the construction of the Mosque was completed within less than six months.

There are active communities in East Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. Two families of Ahmadis have migrated to Qadin from Turkestan.

A very active mission is maintained in London where there is also a Mosque built with funds provided by the women of the Community. The Mission House in London provides a centre for social and intellectual activities for members of the Community as well as for those who are interested in the study of Islam. Before the war started, missionaries had been working in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, Italy and Spain.

There are small communities of Ahmadis in many cities of the United States and there is also a mission established in the Argentine.

There was some missionary activity before 1937 in Japan and in the eastern provinces of China.

Some missionaries in enemy occupied areas are now prisoners of war, but there is no doubt that with the cessation of hostilities missionary activities of the Movement will be revived with even greater vigour than heretofore.

During his Khilafat the message of Ahmadiyyat has, under the directions of the present Khalifa, been carried to the uttermost corners of the earth. The tremendous changes in social, economic and political order which are bound to result from the war must lead to a rapid spread of the Movement in various parts of the world. A far-sighted leader possessing the vision and the dynamic personality of the present Khalifa is not likely to let any of these opportunities slip without forcing them to yield the utmost advantage of which they are capable. Past experience has shown that he has been able not only to press into full service factors that were favourable to the expansion and growth of the Movement, but that every combination of apparently hostile circumstances has by his skilful handling been made to contribute towards its advance. For instance, when the Shuddhi Campaign, as it was called, among the Malkanas was at its height, the Khalifa set up an organization to work in certain sections of the Malkana areas in Rajputana and the United Provinces. It was soon perceived that the magnitude of the task required a very large number of workers and quite large amounts of money, both of which appeared to be beyond the resources of the Community. The Khalifa appealed for volunteers who would be willing to proceed in batches to the affected areas and work in the field for three months at their own expense. Those who are anxious to take part in the work of reclamation but were unable to get away for a period of three months were asked to contribute amounts of money which would pay for the expenses of a volunteer for three months. The response was enthusiastic. Volunteers from all sections of the Community were forthcoming in quite substantial numbers and by means of this device the men as well as the money required were provided. The activities of the Community in the Malkana areas not only succeeded in averting the immediate danger that had threatened but gave substantial sections of the Community valuable training in field missionary work and inured them to physical hardships. A small permanent organization continues its beneficent work among the Malkanas.

Again, in the autumn of 1934, the Community appeared to be confronted with a crisis more threatening and dangerous than it ever had to pass through during its previous history of 45 years. The Khalifa

took immediate steps not only to deal successfully, and as it proved subsequently triumphantly, with the situation that immediately faced him, but also laid the foundations of a system of permanent security and advance for the Community. The scheme that he then inaugurated is called the Tahrik-i-Jadid (The New Scheme). It called upon the Community forthwith to adopt much simpler ways of living so as to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood between all sections and to effect savings by means of which substantial financial resources could be built up. All luxuries and superfluities and some even of what would be regarded as necessities among other communities were swept away. A vast extension in missionary effort was undertaken. Training and discipline in all sections of the Community were intensified. Service and sacrifices were sought to be made the constant rule. Those who had hitherto lagged behind were heartened and encouraged and those who were already vigorous were urged to further effort. The spiritual life of the whole Community was stimulated and invigorated, so that the black clouds on the horizon instead of discouraging or daunting, became the signals for greater effort and severer sacrifice.

It will be readily perceived that the position which the Head of the Ahmadiyyah Community is called upon is not an easy one, and that to sustain it with success the Khalifa must possess talents of a very high order and a combination of qualities which is rarely to be met with in a single individual. That the present Khalifa is more than amply endowed with these talents and qualities has been demonstrated beyond doubt during the 30 years of his Khilafat that have already elapsed. To attempt a detailed description of these would amount to writing a detailed history of the Movement during the second Khilafat. One may, however, give some indications of the ideals aimed at and the policies pursued by him to achieve those ideals. In one word, his ideals are the ideals set before its followers by Islam, and his policies are the policies dictated and inculcated by Islam. When one proceeds therefore to describe what the Khalifa is seeking to achieve and how he is seeking to achieve it, one would merely be describing what Islam requires of Muslims at the present day and how it requires them to set about it. The principles and policies are not new as the professed objective of the Founder of the Movement and consequently of his

successors has been and must be to expound and put into practice the teachings of the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet (on whom be the peace and blessings of God).

In the field of religion a seeker after truth is confused and disengaged by conflicts and controversies which are so rife between those who profess to follow various faiths. In this respect the principles which are insisted upon by the Khalifa were laid down very clearly by the Founder of the Movement. The first of these is that, as taught by the Holy Quran, spiritual guidance has been vouchsafed to mankind by Providence through the ages by means of Prophets who have arisen at different times among different people. The reverent acceptance of the righteousness of all these Prophets is obligatory upon every Muslim and due respect must therefore be paid to the memory of all of them. To emphasize this aspect of the teachings of Islam and to promote a spirit of goodwill and tolerance among the followers of different religions, the present Khalifa has instituted an annual All Prophets Day, when the followers of different faiths join together on one platform to expound and interpret whatever of high example and lasting truth is to be found in the lives and teachings of the founders of the great religions. These meetings are held throughout the country and have already done a great deal to foster a spirit of tolerance and appreciation of the excellences of different faiths among the followers of rival creeds.

In a country like India, religious controversy has in the past often led to deplorable conflicts and disorders. In this connection the Founder of the Movement constantly appealed to the followers of different faiths that they should accept as binding two principles, one, that they should confine the advocacy of their respective faiths to the exposition of the principles and teachings of their respective religions and should refrain from vilifying and abusing the founders or leaders of other faiths and from holding their teachings up to contempt or ridicule; and secondly, that they should refrain from attributing to their own faiths anything for which they are unable to cite authority from their scriptures. A rigid adherence to these two principles would rob religious controversy of all bitterness and would promote a spirit of toleration and authentic research into comparative religion.

When the agitation following upon the publication of that most regrettable and condemnable pamphlet called the "Rangila Rasul" started a communal conflagration from one end of the country to the other, the present Khalifa pointed out very soberly and sensibly that the responsibility for such publications was also shared by the Muslims as they had failed themselves to acquire and in turn to communicate to their non-Muslim fellow country-men a thorough appreciation of the life and teachings of the Holy Prophet (on whom be the peace and blessings of God). To achieve this purpose he instituted a Prophet's Day, when the followers of different faiths are invited to deliver addresses relating to different aspects of the life and teachings of the great Prophet of Islam. This has resulted in a much better appreciation of the great services rendered by the Holy Prophet to the cause of humanity than was the case in this country only a few years ago.

The Khalifa also continues to appeal to the followers of all religions to be sincere in their beliefs and to conform their conduct in all respects to the teachings of the respective religions of which they profess to be followers. He believes that if this could be universally secured it would lead to a rapid appreciation of the fundamental truths taught by Islam.

In the political field, in the face of severe criticism and bitter opposition and at the risk of being gravely misunderstood, he has throughout continued to uphold the doctrine that Islam does not permit rebellion by its subjects against a Government established by law, and that the law must be obeyed in all circumstances. If a Government is tyrannical or a law is vicious or harmful, changes and modifications must be sought by persuasion and conviction through constitutional and peaceful means and not by force or resistance through rebellion or revolution. It has often been put to him that the method of reform in the Government or the law advocated by him might prove ineffectual or too slow, but nobody has ever succeeded in moving him from the position consistently held by him. On the other hand, as President of the All-India Kashmir Committee, he was able successfully to demonstrate the efficacy of his principles.

He is a passionate believer in liberty but equally passionately hates disorder. He believes that no people which is not free can rise to

its full moral, intellectual and spiritual stature, but believes equally firmly that no people can continue in political subjection to another to whom it is morally, intellectually and spiritually superior. He believes that India will attain its political, economic and moral salvation through Islam and is therefore not a believer in any sectional scheme of Pakistan. He believes that in the end the whole of India will be Pakistan and therefore also Akkhand Hindustan. He considers that the controversy to which these two conceptions have given rise will serve merely to prolong India's subjection to Britain.

He regards it as one of the primary duties of a State not only to secure order in its territories and to provide conditions of equal opportunity for all sections, but also to make adequate provision for every one of its subjects in respect of food, clothing, shelter, a minimum standard of education and instruction; health services and amusement.

In the field of international co-operation he believes in the ultimate evolution of a world federal organization with member states, sovereign within their own territories concerning their special and particular interests and problems, but knit together in one organization for securing more completely and effectively that which may be the common concern of all of them. In the meantime he considers that all that tends in that direction should be encouraged and fostered.

He believes that international peace and prosperity cannot be secured so long as there is any part of the world political domination or economic exploitation of any one people by another. Self-determination in the political field establishing complete freedom and equality among nations will alone secure peace and the fullest economic co-operation will alone secure prosperity.

He is convinced that the Islamic economic system, which, while recognizing the principle of private property and adjustment of reward in conformity with the degree and quality of effort (physical or mental) put forth, secures by means of various devices and correctives, obligatory as well as voluntary, an equitable distribution of wealth among the different sections of the community, alone furnishes the most beneficent solution of the economic problems in which the narrow and conflicting policies pursued by the nations have involved them.

Neither in the economic nor in the social sphere does he believe in the necessity of a class-struggle, or indeed, in the necessity of sharply defined classes at all. He is opposed to all privilege, whether hereditary or personal, whether based on wealth or intellect. He has by his Simple Life Movement abolished all social barriers within the Community itself. He thinks that each section of the Community should make an advance towards the other by following the precepts of social conduct inculcated by Islam. He considers that social peace will be attained through the adoption of the Islamic rule that emphasis should be laid in the case of each individual on the discharge of his obligations rather than upon the securing of what he conceives to be his rights.

All this he has explained in some detail in his book entitled "Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam," published 20 years ago. He there touched upon some of the reasons which in his opinion would defeat the successful working of the League of Nations in the international field. The failure of the League in that respect would appear to lend considerable force to his criticism of the League and to furnish support to the principles which he himself advocated as the basis of an effective international organization.



Among his own people he constantly inculcates integrity of belief and conduct and conformity of conduct to belief as the highest virtues. His own personality is many-sided and his activities are multifarious, but there is no contradiction or inconsistency to be discovered anywhere. He has, as already stated, a poor academic record and yet he is the most deeply cultured man in the country and has probably the widest range of studies. He possesses a well-stocked library in Arabic, Urdu and English. He has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and has travelled to the countries of the Near East and Western Europe. He keeps himself abreast of all current topics of public interest. His chief source of inspiration however is the living Word of God contained in the Holy Quran and he also draws much enlightenment from the revelations vouchsafed to the Founder of the Movement as well as from his writings. He is much given to devotion and contemplation and is himself the recipient of revelation. Many of his visions and revelations relating to the present war and other matters have already found startling fulfilment.

He is a prolific writer and indefatigable speaker. His writings and speeches range over a very wide field and comprise almost every aspect of human activity. His greatest work and that which is likely to furnish guidance to and mould the lives of generations to come is the "Tafsir-i-Kabir," an exhaustive commentary on the Holy Quran on which he is at present engaged and one volume of which has already been published and another is going through the press. In "Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam" he has set forth a brief exposition of the teachings of Islam with reference to every aspect of man's activities. In other writings and speeches he has explained the significance of the cardinal doctrines of Islam, like the Existence and Unity of God, the significance and functions of angels, the doctrine of predestination, salvation, etc. Some of his writings have been addressed direct to Heads of States and other eminent persons, inviting them to accept the truth of Islam and of Ahmadiyyat. Among these are booklets prepared for and presented to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (now the Duke of Windsor), H. E. Lord Irwin, Governor-General of India (now Lord Halifax), His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan and H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. Several of his speeches have been devoted to illustrating the excellences of the Holy Quran and its teachings. One of them expounds the philosophy of dreams. Those who have been privileged to listen to his public speeches will bear testimony to the power he is able to wield over his audiences through the sheer force of his reasoning, the aptness of the illustrations employed by him, his appeals to the nobler sentiments of his audience and the ideals that he persistently holds up before them. He is the unsurpassed master of exposition and interpretation and often holds huge audiences spellbound for hours at a stretch while he proceeds to expound at leisure and in detail the thesis he has chosen for the occasion.

He possesses a very pleasing personality and a very charming address. He is the very soul of courtesy and kindness and regards the exercise of true hospitality as a cardinal virtue. In his speeches as well as in his writings he seeks to convince by persuasion, exposition, interpretation and argument rather than by authority. Every moment of the time that one is privileged to spend in his company is an education in itself. While he is at headquarters, his evenings are spent in

the Mosque where between the evening and night prayers he gives public audience. At this time the humblest and the most exalted, the stranger and the friend, the Muslim and the non-Muslim are alike made welcome and are admitted to the highest intellectual and spiritual fellowship as equals. Questions are freely asked and he examines the most complicated problems, reduces them to their simplest elements, and brings them within the grasp of the commonest intellect present. One always comes away from these audiences in a mood of intellectual stimulation and spiritual exaltation, and yet with a feeling of regret that the experience should have been so brief.

The members of the Community feel bound to him by ties of the most devoted affection and render him the most implicit obedience. No sovereign inspires such deep attachment in the hearts of his subjects as the Khâlifa inspires in the hearts of his followers. The vast majority of them hold their lives and all that may belong to them in trust to be devoted to the service of Islam as he may direct.

He combines in his person qualities which rarely find themselves in companionship. He is both a poet and a man of science; he is an idealist and a man of action; he literally sees visions and then works hard and unceasingly toward their fulfilment. He leads a life of contemplation and yet is the most courageous leader in action. Nothing is too small for his attention and nothing too big for his achievement. He is the most affectionate of masters, the sincerest of friends, the most cheerful of companions and the wisest of counselors. He occupies the highest spiritual office in Islam and leads a life simple almost to austerity and entirely free from ostentation. He bases his life on Faith, lives it in truth, simplicity and sincerity, and justifies it by courage, perseverance and achievement.

Ethiopia To-Day

Ethiopia is at a critical stage in her history. The Italian invasion imposed new ways and brought in Western ideas where previously they were almost entirely unknown. She has now the chance of developing to the advantage of her peoples, but at the same time there is grave danger that she may relapse into her old feudal state. Geography has played a large part in shaping her history. Shut in from all sides by mountains, the foreigner has in the past always found penetration difficult. But the traveller who succeeded in reaching the uplands must always have been amazed at the scenic beauties which abound. Christian missionaries arrived at an early date and made considerable headway throughout large areas of the country, before St. Augustine had set foot in England. With the growth of Islam for a long period Ethiopia found a dangerous rival across the Red Sea, and long periods of warfare make Ethiopian history difficult to disentangle. Portuguese aid was enlisted to help ward off the threat of Moslem invasion; but the Portuguese were more concerned to gain the Coptic Christians for Roman Catholicism than to defeat the forces of Islam and at length withdrew without winning over Ethiopia to the Roman faith. For a long period in the eighteenth century, the very word Ethiopia, or as it was then usually called, Abyssinia, can have been little more than legendary; in fact, in spite of Bruce's travels in 1796 and Bishop Gobat's some forty years later, little was known in this country until in 1868 Lord Napier penetrated up from the coast and defeated the Emperor Theodore to rescue some imprisoned consuls. But save for the fact that the Emperor John can be said to owe his throne to British intervention little was achieved. In 1896 came the Italian invasion and defeat at Adwa in the northern province of Tigræ; then in the early years of this century the French were given permission by Menelik to proceed with the building of the railway up from the coast at Djibouti in French Somaliland; but it was not till 1917 that the single-track line reached Addis Ababa, which Menelik had made his capital.

In the period immediately following the last war outside influence was still very slight. There were some British and Swedish mis-

sionaries, and a number of French ones who worked mainly near the railway line. A few Belgians helped with the training of the Army. Apart from the missionaries there were few other British in the country. Haile Selassie's desire, revealed soon after his coronation, to adopt a constitutional form of government is all the more remarkable when it is realised how slight was the contact that Ethiopians had at that time had with European ways. Indeed those British who were present when in a public speech he announced his plan tell with what general surprise it was received. From 1928 till 1935 moderate reforms were introduced that were acceptable and understood by the people, both in ways of government and social policy. A start was made on road construction and a few schools opened. Had the Emperor not been confronted by Italian aggression much might have been achieved by this time.

The Italians threw themselves into the task of developing the country — but not the people — in a way that is surely unparalleled in the history of colonial development. In this respect we have much to learn from them. Magnificent roads were built at a cost over some stretches of £12,000 a mile. Schools and hospitals were set up, electric light plants and water pumps installed, and a telephone system put into operation. The framework was created for Italian settlers; they had no time for more before they were driven out by British and South African forces. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed for history to pass judgment as to whether or not this influx of Western ideas may eventually be said to have benefited the Ethiopian peoples. If it opened their eyes to the necessity of education so that they can turn modern inventions to a constructive use for their own future good, the Fascists will have been the unwitting forerunners of a prosperous, independent native state. But if it has revealed only the luxuries rather than the advantages of modern scientific discoveries, a wave of corruption may set in and do incalculable harm. Unfortunately there seems a tendency towards this latter less desirable course. It may well be that future development is impossible, until, having exhausted all the stocks that the Italians left behind, the country sinks back to its 1935 level before progressing again at a normal pace.

Ethiopia is still barely conscious of her own needs. Leaving out of account that through lack of funds and staff two perfectly good

hospitals are shut in Addis Ababa, it is unfortunate that in this country so much publicity has been given to plans for another hospital building there while education is the greater need. It is a hard saying but in her present state medical services are a luxury that the Ethiopian budget cannot really afford. The great need, and this cannot be too strongly emphasised, is for education. And to obtain education she naturally needs an increased national income. The Italians succeeded in killing off a great many of the English-speaking native population. This meant that many of the more successful pupils, the fruits of many years' hard toil by Swedish and British missionaries, have been lost now when they are so urgently needed. While of course most of the present officials continued loyally in opposition to Fascist rule either by guerilla warfare or in exile with the Emperor, there were some whose attitude to Facism was less uncompromising.

The schools in Addis Ababa are far too full for the totally inadequate staff to teach as well as they might. The desire for education is very great among the young but not properly realised by those in authority, who seek more spectacular ways of expending public funds. Yet progress is being made. The unfortunate side is the almost total lack of capable masters; there are practically none who could be described as having any sense of vocation. A start has been made recently with a training college for teachers and this should fulfil a very real need, provided that sufficient funds and equipment are put at its disposal. There is one secondary school in Addis Ababa, and a number of elementary schools, some of which are in charge of British or American directors. Most provincial towns have a school but only a small percentage of boys and an even smaller one of girls attend. The importance of girls' education is not yet appreciated

As serious attempt has been made to improve the judicial system of the country, and British judges have helped considerably by serving on the High Court in Addis Ababa. But in the provinces little has yet been done and the prison system is deplorable. The Addis Ababa police force is a smart and efficient body, and units have recently been dispatched from the larger provincial towns for training in the capital. The Army is small, but many local chiefs keep a large body of retainers and there is no shortage of Italian rifles or ammunition. These un-

official private armies are of course a potential source of danger to the peace of the land, but in actual fact it is some time now since there has been any large-scale internal rising.

Potentially Ethiopia is a rich agricultural country. The soil is good, the rainfall heavy, and the range of altitudes makes possible tropical, sub-tropical and temperate crops. Nor is the farmer ignorant in his ways; he has long ago acquired the art of terracing. What he needs is better tools and some knowledge of the comparative values of different foods. In particular his plough is a feeble instrument — nothing more than a shaped tree trunk with a metal tip. With this he can plough only a few inches deep so that it is necessary to go over the same piece of land several times before it is possible to sow on it. He knows little of the art of artificial irrigation on more than a small scale, and if this could be developed he would be able to use large areas to produce two crops a year. Apart from one small scheme which the Ministry of Education has sponsored near Debra Birhan, effort has been made to teach simple ways of raising the standard of living. Here by creating a community spirit a small start has been made to show the local population something of the advantages of better home construction, sanitation and sounder farming. Teaching on such lines is not given in the village schools simply because the schoolmasters themselves are not conscious of their pitiful state. For the same reason, sanitary services, except in one or two places, are non-existent.

When the history of Ethiopia is viewed and it is seen how the coming of the foreigner has been bound up with war and bloodshed, it becomes understandable that the Ethiopian should view all outside assistance with great suspicion, and the idea of disinterested help is completely beyond the conception of the average man. The English advisers have had no easy task during the past three years. Two choices have lain open to them—either to do little advising, and, ignoring matters that call for attention, to concentrate on developing friendly social relations with the Ethiopian ministers, or to advise and criticise as they feel the occasion demands, only to know that their advice will often be too forthright to be acceptable and for their contract to stand little chance of being renewed. During the last year many advisers have left the country. The Ethiopians have been far too anxious to adopt Euro-

pean ways without adaptation to their own particular needs rather than to better their own usually basically sound ways of life by grafting on to them European improvements. But the financial situation is likely to call a halt before long to any programme of development, however limited. Last year the Ethiopian Government refused the £1,000,000 a year for three years which the delegation headed by Lord de la Warr offered because the British Government rightly insisted that if this sum was given a planning board of British and Ethiopian officials in equal numbers should be set up to see that it was wisely administered.

The discussion of future boundaries, though it is a question that will call for a decision shortly, is bound up with the future of the former Italian colonies and is beyond the scope of this article; but we may rightly ask ourselves if it is equitable that more peoples should be included under Ethiopian rule while so little is done for the benefit of the general population and while so many domestic problems go unresolved. Ethiopia certainly needs outside help and advice, but it must come as a result of her own realization of the need and not be brought about by unasked intrusion.—J. G. Grimwade—*The Contemporary Review.*

The Renunciation Of Self

"The test of unselfish love is this, that we should be ready and willing to sacrifice our own desires, happiness, even life itself, to render the beloved happy, even though our sacrifice will never be understood or appreciated, and that we shall therefore not be rewarded for it by an increase of love or gratitude. Such is the true love which leads up to God. We love our fellow-creatures because there is in them something of the Divine, some dim reflection of the true Beloved, reminding our souls of their origin, home, and destination. From the love of the reflection we pass to the love of the Light which casts it; and loving the Light, we at length become one with It, losing the false self and gaining the True, therein at length to happiness and rest, and becoming one with all that we have loved — the Essence of that which constitutes the beauty alike of a noble action, a beautiful thought, or a lovely face."

Facts and Forces

Russia and Iran

The current Russian interest in the northern portion of Iran is, actually, more a revival of interest than anything else. Both Russia and Britain have engaged in diplomatic battles for influence in Iran (formerly Persia) for more than a century, partly for commercial reasons and partly because of Britain's desire to have Iran serve as a buffer state between Russia and British India.

Associate Prof. George V. Bobrinskoy of the University of Chicago, a student of Russian political history, said yesterday that altho Russia had never owned the land which her troops now occupy in Iran, a struggle for influence between Russia and Britain started about 130 years ago, and after much play and counterplay the two large countries reached a sort of tacit agreement whereby Russia's influence was predominant in the north and Great Britain's in the south.

Invaded from Iran

During periods of friction between the two, however, one or the other would try to extend its influence into the other's zone, and toward the end of World War I, and shortly afterwards, British troops invaded Russia from northern Iran, marching thru the soviet territory of Azerbaijan and Turkmen (not to be confused with Turkey).

In 1921 Lenin offered to relinquish Russia's special privileges in northern Iran and a Russian-Iranian treaty was concluded by which Iran was given certain advantages, including cancelling of a 20 million dollar debt.

This treaty, the Russians charge, has been broken by Iran four times since its signing by the granting to American, British, and Dutch oil companies of concessions in the north of Iran. These concessions were cancelled in 1944.

West of Caspian Sea

The big British held oil fields in Iran are in the area lying just northeast of the Persian gulf, while the other major oil fields, in which American, British, and Dutch interests were canceled, lie west of the Caspian sea and immediately south of the Russian border, not far from the rich Russian oil fields at Baku. The northern oil fields, as nearly as can be determined from news reports, are now in the area occupied by the Russian army.

Russia maintains that these northern oil fields must not be occupied by any one but the soviet, and reminds that it was from this area that British forces invaded Baku a quarter of a century ago. Any granting of concessions there to other foreign powers, Russia declares, amounts to a threat to the security of Russia's southern frontier.

Charges Discrimination

Russia also states that Iran's refusal to give Russia northern oil concessions in 1944, after cancelation of the American, British, and Dutch contracts there, was "discrimination" against the soviet.

The oil fields of Iran are the third ranking producer of the world.

Most of the Iranian oil is controled by the Anglo-Iranian Oil company, which is in turn controled by the British government. In 1932 the Anglo-Iranian Oil company's contract was canceled by Reza Shah Pahlevi, then ruler of Iran, and after bitter protests from the British a new contract was made under which Iran got a larger share of the profits and which contained a proviso that after 60 years all the company's property should revert to Iran.

Russia also is involved with Turkey in a dispute that has grown critical the last week. Moscow has demanded the provinces of Kars and Ardahan, former Armenian territory which Turkey acquired by treaty from Russia in 1921, and a base on the Dardanelles. The Turkish government has vowed it will fight rather than yield.

From a "war of nerves" waged in January, soviet movements have become threatening. Troops were reported moving March 12 and the Bulgaria-Turkey border was reported closed by the Russians two days later. Russia was asked by the United States to explain the destination of its troops, but has not answered.

Russia and Turkey

An explanation of the tangled Russo-Turkish relations which are currently manifested in soviet agitation against Turkey for return to Russia of the provinces of Kars and Ardahan, near the Black sea, was given last night by associate Prof. George V. Bobrinskoy of the University of Chicago, a student of Russian political history.

Prof. Bobrinskoy said that altho Russia several times had occupied these and other areas in various wars during the 18th and 19th centuries, it was not until the end of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-'78 that Kars and Ardahan became the legal property of Russia. By terms of the treaty of Adrianople, in January, 1878, Russia was given both provinces.

They remained Russian until seized by Turkey under the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918, when the Bolsheviks, under Trotsky, signed a separate peace with the central powers. Under this treaty the port of Batum also was given to Turkey, but in a later treaty, signed in 1921 and concurred in by the soviet republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, Russia kept Batum, altho Turkey's claim to Kars and Ardahan was again recognized.

Armenians Begin Outcry

The present outcry for return to Russia of the disputed areas was begun last month by soviet Armenian officials, who declare that the land was "forcibly

occupied by Turkey." The demand has since been broadcast over the Moscow radio and printed in the Russian press.

Powerful Russia, a sharp contrast to the weak Russia of a quarter of a century ago, failed to renew her 20 year old treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Turkey last March. In recent weeks she is reported to have concentrated troops in southern Bulgaria, near the Greek and Turkish borders.

Nonetheless, Turkey has shown no signs of yielding to the Russian demands, but instead has said she would "fight to the last man for every inch of territory."

Tells Link to Iran Affair

The Chicago historian said that there is a relationship between the demand for Kars and Ardahan and Russia's actions in northern Iran, where Red army activities have been the cause of a United States inquiry. Russia insists that her southern frontiers must be protected to prevent any possible invasion of Azerbaijan.

Soviet Azerbaijan was invaded by the Turks after the Russian collapse near the close of the first World war. When the Turks threatened Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, a small British force was landed there Aug. 4, 1918.

British Beaten By Turks

Altho the British fought hard they received little aid from the residents of Baku (who had welcomed them heartily on arrival) and the Turks forced the British withdrawal on Sept. 14.

When Turkey at last was defeated, however, a force of British and White Russian troops, with token representatives of France and the United States, marched into Baku Nov. 17, 1918, and remained until the end of 1919.

That Russia has not forgotten the occupation of Baku was proven recently when she warned Iran that cession of any oil interests in northern Iran to any foreign power but Russia would be considered a hostile act. It was from northern Iran, the Russians reminded Iran, that British troops came into Azerbaijan.

—Robert Cromie, *Chicago Daily Tribune*

Kurdistan

In the medley of tensions and intrigues now unsettling the Middle East, there is one factor which is apt to be ignored, but of which more is likely to be heard — the nationalist aspirations of the Kurdish people. The revolt of the Iraki Kurds, last September, under Mulla Moustapha was abortive; and its leader fled to the Russian Zone of Iran, where a Kurdish Liberation Committee has been formed. Another Kurdish leader, Hamar Rachid, is watching events somewhere east of Kirkuk. And now it is reported from Baghdad that a

Kurdish delegation has lodged with the Iraki Government demands for local self-government and the establishment of Kurdish schools. It may be surmised that this delegation has contacts with the National Liberation Committee in Iran.

The troubles of Kurdistan go far back into history. During the XVIth century, the Kurds, although vassals of the Sultan, lived very independently; for the Sultan counted on them to be a bulwark against the Persians. But this happy state could not last for ever; indeed, the Treaty of 1638, fixing the boundary between Turkey and Persia, was the signal for persecutions of Kurds from both sides. In the XVIIIth century, Turkey, weakened by disastrous wars in Europe, and Persia, by internal struggles, again gave Kurdistan a moment of respite. If they had been more united, the Kurds might even have been able to capture the imperial throne of Persia, but the chance was lost and never came again. Towards the end of the XVIIth century, the Turks redoubled their efforts to eliminate the last vestiges of Kurdish autonomy. This policy provoked a series of violent revolts and led to the first serious attempts on the part of the Kurds to unify their country.

Various national leaders arose: first, Abderrahman Baba Pasha of Suleymaniyah; later Mohamed Pasha of Ravandouz; later still Beder Khan of Botan and Ismail Bay of Behdinan. But all the Kurdish uprisings were crushed, sometimes by the Ottomans, sometimes by the Persians, sometimes by both together. In 1880, however, a religious leader of Chemdine, Sheikh Obayd Ullah, undaunted by earlier failures, took up arms with the avowed intention of creating an independent Kurdistan. He succeeded in capturing Ourmia and Sawdj and even menaced Tabriz. But, once again, the concerted efforts of the Turks and of the Persians precipitated his downfall three years later, and he died in exile.

By the beginning of this century, all the great Kurdish principalities had disappeared. A few princely families continued to live on their domains, but had long since been stripped of their seigniorial prerogatives. The only Kurds who retained a semblance of power were local tribal chieftains over their tribes. The influence of these local notables was even increased by the creation in 1885 of a semi-permanent Kurdish militia, in which they served as officers. One of them, a certain Ibrahim pasha, commanding the Viranchehir militia, revolted in 1908; but was quickly suppressed.

World War I was particularly cruel for the Kurds. Many of them, drafted into the Ottoman Army, were killed in action or by disease. The civilian population, too, suffered greatly. In 1917, the Turkish Army decided, for "military reasons," to evacuate the population of the provinces of Diyar Bekir, Mouch and Bitlis. This operation was carried out in the middle of winter, and most of the evacuated died of cold and privation before it was completed.

The advance of the Russians along the confines of Turkey and of Iran too, left very painful memories.

With the end of the war, however, the Kurds, clinging to Wilsonian promises, looked forward to a new day — which never dawned. A Kurdish General, Charif Pasha, was accredited to the peace negotiations between the Allies and Turkey. The Treaty of Sèvres (1920) recognized the legitimacy of Kurdish aspirations, and provided for an independent Kurdistan; but, because of the Kemalist *coup de force*, they remained a dead letter. The Treaty of Sèvres was eventually superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne (1925), which simply obligated Turkey to grant full protection of life and liberty to all its inhabitants irrespective of birth, nationality, language, race or religion (Section III, Article 37). Kurdistan, partitioned between Turkey, Irak and Iran, moved dismally into the future, occasionally showing its exasperation and despair by revolts. But, for lack of unity and organization, these revolts spent themselves futilely, usually calling down upon the Kurds the rigours of armed repression.

In Irak the Kurds were somewhat better protected than their brethren in Turkey. The British entrusted the administration of the region of Sulymanieh to a local religious leader, Sheikh Mahmoud, who played an important role until 1931. He revolted on several occasions and even founded, in 1923, an ephemeral Kurdish State. The Anglo-Iraki Treaty of 1930 provided for a relatively large measure of cultural and administrative autonomy for the Kurds. None the less, although not actually massacred, as were the Assyro-Chaldeans, the Kurds in Irak have been subjected to a policy of exception. They are not happy there.

In Iran, the Shah Pahlevi's policy of centralisation had the effect of entirely blotting out the Kurds' local autonomy. Whole tribes were deported; tribal chieftains were exiled or else made themselves as inconspicuous as possible. Only in 1941, with the change of regime, did the Kurds regain a few shreds of their lost independence.

In the U.S.S.R., on the other-hand, the Kurds were given very wide privileges. For a while they constituted a separate republic in the Nakhitchevan, but later were incorporated, without prejudice to their administrative and cultural autonomy, into Soviet Armenia. Eriwan has become one of the most important Kurdish intellectual centres; in particular, many Kurdish publications and periodicals using the Roman alphabet are printed there each year. Kurdish leaders (in particular, the Syrian Emir, Dr. Kamuran Aali Bedir Khan) protest that the Kurds are not pro-Russian. But who could blame them for accepting help from the only Power that proffers it?

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